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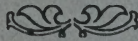
IOWA

AND THE

SECESSION OF THE SOUTH

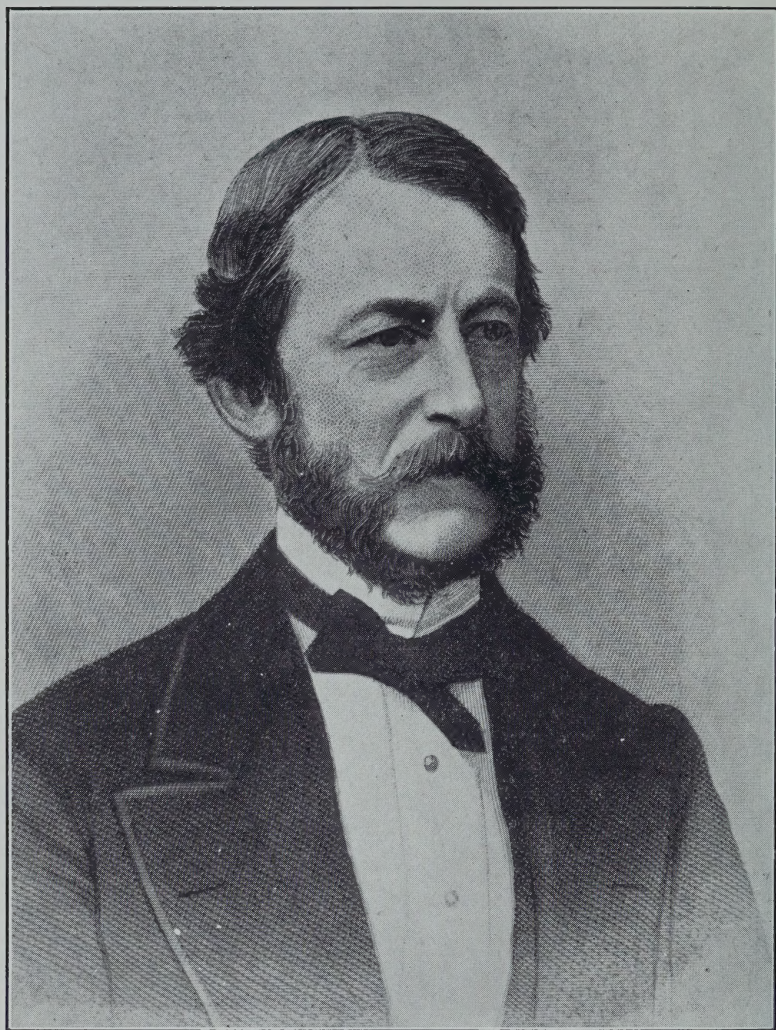
BY
CHARLES KEYES

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John A. Rapson

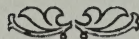
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IOWA AND THE SECESSION OF THE SOUTH

BY CHARLES KEYES, PH. D.

Transplantation of Puritan abolitionism to frontier soil seemed necessary in order that its principles should flower and bring forth fruit. Whether or not the removal to new country was necessary the fact remains that that part of the fanaticism that was so transplanted was the very part which actually accomplished what a half century of homeland agitation failed to do. How Iowa chanced to be this one new and fertile land only the Fates may reveal. It is a theme which is little touched upon by historians. The main points of the central thought seem worthy of brief relation.

Had it not been for some slight tinge of morbid radicalism that pervaded the Republican platform of the Iowa State Convention of 1859, our American Ship of State might have sailed unvexed through the centuries. A few really harmless but unhappy asperations made at an unseasonable moment almost served to prostrate the nation. To make Appomatox the end of Yorktown, an imperious aristocracy needed only slight goading; and a little exuberant sentimentality on the part of an obscure New England lawyer, lost on wild western prairie, sufficed to kindle into flame the greatest civil war in history. Such mighty consequences for good or for evil often result from what seem at the time to be trivial, everyday occurrences in the life of a nation.

Unlike many another composition of its kind to be relegated speedily to oblivion, lost and forgotten almost as soon as endorsed, this Iowa political platform of 1859 possessed features which have very great historical interest. Out of it was framed without material change of thought the Chicago platform on which Abraham Lincoln was elected, on which political parties of that day took new alignment, and on account of which the Union was soon well-nigh disrupted. Only long and bitter civil war served to undo the havoc that it wrought and to save our Republic for world freedom.

A strange contrivance was this Iowan platform of 1859. It

had no place whatever among State documents. It contained but two planks on local issues and they were treated as addenda. All the other resolutions were strictly national in their import. As if to emphasize its extralimitary character, there were appended two thin sections relating to unimportant state matters. Written so soon after the Lincoln-Douglas debates, it naturally reflected the sentiments of those spirited controversies. The production of an ardent New England abolitionist it warmly espoused the Lincoln side. Its appearance seemed almost deliberately timed, as if it were a trial draft of a national platform constructed a year in advance, in accordance with some subtle and preconceived plan and purpose.

In the light of subsequent events we may surmise something of the basic influences at work in the early launching of this strange craft. We gain inkling of their nature from contemplation of the business relations of the members of a certain coterie of western railroad lawyers of which the chairman of the Iowa State Central Committee was one. It is not at all surprising that the author of this state platform should make it the basis of his larger platform, when, in the following year, his opportunity came. In the Iowa convention its platform was adopted with loud acclaim, without discussion, and without change. Although its national aspect was little regarded by the men to whom it was read, its provisions in their wider aspects seemed destined to course down the established path of the ages. Already thus early were unseen forces at work in various ways.

The railroad factor of the national political conventions just before the outbreak of the Civil War was little noted at the time, yet it was really a most momentous factor of that day. As the tie that bound together the circle from which its central voice uttered the sentiments of the platform of 1860, this railroad group was the basic influence which invited armed conflict within the nation. One phase, the most important of all as it proved, was the early spanning of the continent by bands of steel. The Union Pacific Railroad project was then crystallizing so as to be pushed rapidly forward towards the Golden Gate. Its completion would immediately open to settlement a dozen new territories, which would soon grow into large and lusty states. This would make the South hopelessly weak in political power. Heretofore new states had been admitted to the Union in pairs—

one north and one south. A balance had been always nicely maintained. Now with the early completion of a northern railroad that balance was likely to be disturbed, and the South could never expect to retain its place in the sun.

War with Mexico left to us a vast tract of new territory which, while it extended our national expanse to the Pacific Ocean, gave birth to new internal contentions, new rivalries, between North and South. On either side of the continental expanse the seacoasts were already settled; but the illimitable interior was yet in the savagery of nature. Genuine and urgent need then arose for easy and speedy communication between the two widely separated civilizations. This need Congress, in the fifties of the last century, took steps to accomplish, in the form of providing for the survey of lines practical for railway building from the Mississippi River basin to the Pacific Ocean.

During the decade preceding the outbreak of the Civil War no less than five feasible routes were located by these Pacific Railroad Surveys as they were called. Their political aspects appeared never to have been exploited. Their ulterior purpose seemed to have escaped notice. Incentive of their initiation was cunningly hidden. The personal aspects of their proposal never reached the light of day. Their sectional advantages were subtly camouflaged. In the excitement of the rebellion which followed so closely, their real significance was never clearly revealed. After the close of the war when their promise of ultimate benefit no longer needed support their relation to individuals was soon forgotten by the general public. It may be doubted whether in the mind of the public suspicion ever arose as to their larger functions and national bearings.

Of these five Pacific railroad surveys, three were located in the South and two in the North. They were carried out mainly under the general orders of Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war. This fact, doubtless, had much to do with the course of railroad building events and the political welfare of the country. For some reason never explained only the surveys of the southern routes were reported—thirteen sumptuous quarto volumes, entitled, the Pacific Railroad Reports, extolling the varied resources of the country traversed by these southern lines. Nevertheless these southern routes could not be made to attract capital. The long stretches of waterless, verdureless desert through which

they passed were not spanned until long after the northern line was complete and in operation. Southern money failed to respond to the proposal for their construction. Southern dreams of boundless new slave territory were dissolved.

Concerning the two northern lines little was ever divulged by Davis to the public. The reports, maps, and notes of the northernmost route, since followed by the Great Northern Railway, were not published. It was claimed that they were lost in transit between the Pacific Coast and Washington. At any rate, nothing more was ever heard of them, and no attempt was ever made even to bring the main facts to light.

The official reports of the other northern route, along the forty-first parallel were also slighted. But this line proved the most feasible and attractive of all, and it received first financial consideration from private interests when it came to actual construction. Despite the obstacles which appear to have been put in the way by the War Department, the plan of building steadily matured. A northern road accomplished first what the South had designed to reserve exclusively for herself, and opened up vast expanses in which slavery could have no place. Thus there was a distinct commercial setting to Squatter Sovereignty in those years immediately preceding the war that never drew public attention.

Unwittingly the South passed over to the North the prize which it, itself, held most dear. Nature, herself, sided with the North. Slavery stood already doomed. The South's only salvation was recourse to arms. No confederation of states, however, could rise successfully against such tremendous odds as the combined forces of nature, commerce, and superior man power. At this distant day and in view of the far-reaching results of the great conflict it seems folly that the South could have expected its gigantic bulldozing tactics to work even once more. On the other hand display of even a little tact on the part of northern political leaders at a critical moment would doubtless have deterred the South, however disgruntled, from making the attempt.

Immediately before the war the railroad situation in the West was in the hands of a new, aggressive, and determined group of men who, advance guards in this field, had in their make-up all those sturdy qualities which characterize the early pioneer. Railroads were building out from the Great Lakes. The present Rock



JOHN A. KASSON COTTAGE. AT FIFTH AND CHESTNUT, DES MOINES
HOUSE WHERE WAS WRITTEN THE CHICAGO PLATFORM, OF 1860, ON WHICH ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS ELECTED

Island line was located through to the Missouri River and, already half built, was rapidly pushing forward. The Union Pacific Railway was projected to commence where the Rock Island road ended. The linking together of the two oceans by bands of steel was in sight.

Private enterprise never before entered upon such prodigious projects. The undertaking was really national in scope. None grasped this larger situation so quickly as some of the little group of Chicago railroad men. Substantial help must be obtained from the government despite the latter's strong opposition to the plan. Politics held out the only hope. In the political excitement of that day railroading held little of the public attention. Railroad influences in public affairs was little felt for the next few years. That it was not dead was reflected in many political policies. But the national trend is shown in the platforms of the political parties.

When the national Democratic convention met in Charleston in April, 1860, the platform offered by the majority of the resolutions committee, on which were delegates from fifteen slave states, reflected the policy of Jefferson Davis and the South but made no allusion to railroad matters. A minority report of the same committee presented by Benjamin M. Samuels,¹ of Iowa, strongly advocated government aid to insure construction of a railroad line to the Pacific Coast. The minority portion of the committee represented a majority of the people who had voted at the previous general election. After the slave state delegates bolted the convention, the Samuels platform was speedily adopted.

As the best-known statesman of the day and as an active aspirant for the highest office in the gift of the nation, Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, played a unique role. That he was early acquainted with the western railroad schemes is amply attested by not a few of his political machinations which are otherwise so perfectly inexplicable. How close he actually was to the Illinois railroad leaders will perhaps never be revealed, but it is probable that it was never nearer than his own political

¹"The American Conflict," Greeley, Vol. I, p. 310. Mr. Samuels was born in Parkersburg, Virginia, in 1823, removed to Dubuque, Iowa, in 1843, practiced law there, served as representative in the Fifth General Assembly in 1854 and 1855, was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1857 against R. P. Lowe, and in 1860 was the Democratic candidate for Congress against Vandever. He was an able lawyer and an orator of great power.—Editor.

preference dictated. His going over to the railroad support long before the opening of the national conventions seemed only a necessary consequence of his astute insight into the general situation. His stand on Squatter Sovereignty was so pleasing to a very considerable portion of the Republicans that they were quite willing to support him for the presidency. By thus more than offsetting any possible small deflection of Southerners this insured his election. But with the Democrats split at Charleston, and so large a withdrawal of Slave-state support, apparent victory was suddenly turned into certain defeat.

To Norman B. Judd, attorney, prominent officer and resourceful all-round man of the Rock Island Railroad, this foregone conclusion came with staggering reality. The railroad coterie had to turn elsewhere if it expected to get governmental aid for its grand project. It was decided to put its own candidate in the field; and this choice was Abraham Lincoln, an attorney for the Illinois Central and other western railroads. Judd undertook the task of turning the presidential nomination to his close colleague, Lincoln. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, attorney for the Mississippi & Missouri River (Rock Island) Railroad, and chairman of the Iowa State Central Committee, was entrusted with the duty of drawing up the railroad plank for the Lincoln platform, and did even more. It was certainly something more than coincidence that these two Iowa railroad men, Kasson and Samuels, should guide the destinies of the two national resolutions committees in opposing parties.

The most momentous political problem of the day, slavery, railroad enterprise was to turn to its own account. In so doing it was to stress the rock upon which our Ship of State struck. In this Iowa, in the first lustrum before the war, occupied a peculiarly strategic position. Fates placed her in the forefront. Four lines of railroad were building across this state. The Union Pacific line was so located in the preliminary traverse as to meet these at a common point on the Missouri River. So important was the Iowa position in both western and national railroad circles that the inference can not be avoided that the two Iowa men at both of the national conventions of 1860 were on that account charged with the duty of framing the vital planks of their respective platforms.

The essential plank in the Chicago platform of the Republi-



NORMAN BUELL JUDD

WHO NOMINATED ABRAHAM LINCOLN AT CHICAGO, 1860

can National Convention of 1860 pronounced in no unequivocal terms, "That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom * * * * and we deny the authority of Congress * * * * to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." Such decided statement greatly emphasized the like sentiment which a month before so completely ruptured the Democratic National Convention at Charleston. This unwise resolution was penned by J. A. Kasson, one of the Iowa delegates to the Chicago Convention. He was a member of the resolutions committee. He was one of the subcommittee of five to frame the platform. After an all-night session of this subcommittee, as he himself relates,² Kasson was left to reduce the rough draft of the platform to its final form.

As the sun was rising Horace Greeley, also of the subcommittee, left the room and telegraphed his *New York Tribune* that the platform was complete and credit for it, as appears by the *Tribune* of that issue, was chiefly due to John A. Kasson, of Iowa.

Bent only on accomplishing their purposes, and apparently utterly oblivious to the larger national effects of their innocent action, neither leader was particularly tactful in the wording of the solemn pledges of his respective party. In furthering this local scheme of railroading both lost sight of the necessary consequences of nation-wide and even world-wide import.. Unintentionally one gave his best efforts to disrupt the Democratic party, and the other to threaten wreck to the nation. Probably neither had the faintest thought of fateful consequences of his action, yet this served well the spirits of Hades, who were so soon to be unleashed. Slavery was thus forced into the service of the railroad. Unwittingly Iowa became the political umbilicus of the American nation.

The Chicago platform, however, was not entirely written at a single setting. It was not so spontaneously evolved as accounts may make it appear. The promptness with which it was reported to the convention on the following morning was not a direct measure of the unanimity of opinion or the ease with which the members of the committee agreed. Mr. Kasson had the

²ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 5, p. 349.

greater part of the platform partly constructed long before he reached Chicago. The Chicago platform was unmistakably the state platform of the Iowa Republicans of the previous year, to which was prefixed a few other and less important sections.

The Iowa platform of 1859 was no expression of state policy. It dealt with national affairs. Mr. Kasson, upon his re-election to the chairmanship of the Iowa State Central Committee, had entered with great enthusiasm and zest upon the forming of an efficient organization in his state. The state platform was solely his effort. He gave the theme much thought. In losing sight of his state in this matter he chanced to compose a document whose effect was to drive his political opponents into revolution and civil war, and to prostrate his country for half a century.

Kasson was maneuvered into his unique position by a strange combination of circumstances. He seemed to have little realized at the time the strong strategic position which he really occupied in national affairs. It is doubtful whether he ever realized the grand role of the post which the Fates had decreed for him. He records fifty years afterwards how he went from the din of the Chicago convention and "throughout the campaign he was on the stump in the West advocating the election of Abraham Lincoln, and supporting that clause of the platform which he, himself, had penned, that 'the normal condition of all the territories of the United States was that of freedom.'"³ At this stage Kasson's role was of the same order of martyrdom as was that of John Brown. There was not at that time even faintly adumbrated anything of that marvelous diplomatic acumen and tact which in after years characterized all of his actions, raised him to the front rank in American diplomacy, and stamped him one of the great statesmen of the world. Had he, in Chicago, displayed even some slight suspicion of those superlative qualities, the American Civil War might have been permanently averted.

Although the Chicago platform of 1860 reflects the trend of anti-slavery thought in America during the previous twenty-five years, it also reveals with great realism the outpourings of the imprisoned soul of a single man, and that man was not the martyred Lincoln. This outwelling found public vent only in a somewhat different direction from that taken by the well-

³ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 5, p. 349.



Wm. L. Sumner

meaning and simple-minded John Brown. At heart Kasson was an abolitionist of most pronounced type. He was a New Englander whose family for generations had been steeped in the strictest puritanism. Immediately upon graduation from Vermont College he was tutor in a Virginia family where all the horrors of slavery soon so deeply seared his soul that he returned north at the end of a brief three months. Then, so strongly lured to the freedom of the wide, wide world, he shipped in an old, almost derelict schooner bound for the other side of the globe. Fates preserved him for higher duties. The captain of the ill-fated craft failed to be impressed with the superior seamanship of a college boy, and canceled the enlistment. Turning to the law young Kasson was soon admitted to the bar. He also took an active interest in political affairs and went as delegate to the first Free Soil National Convention at Buffalo. On his return from that convention he was made a Free Soil candidate for Congress.⁴

Feeling keenly the pressure upon him of the settled institutions of the old New England society, the lure of the new, free and open West became overpowering and he soon was on his way to settle in St. Louis. Rapidly acquiring there a good law practice he remained until 1856 when his further experiences with slavery at close range drove him to northern quarters. He located at Des Moines, then virtually a New England colony. His superior attainments soon won him a place in the public eye. With his energy and liking for political activities he was entrusted with the state's organization of the then nascent Republican party. As member of the State Central Committee, he presently became a leader in political affairs and was made its chairman. In this position he guided with masterful hand for several years the destinies of the new Republican party in Iowa. The state platform of 1859, entirely his own composition, represents not only national party feeling but his own profound, matured, and almost fanatical musings on the national affairs of the previous two decades.

⁴ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 5, p. 347.

The transmission of the meaning of the Iowa State platform⁵ of 1859 to the Chicago National platform of 1860 is indicated in the following parallel paragraphs:

IOWA PLATFORM 1859

Resolved, That the Republican party will forever oppose the demand of the Southern Democracy for the enactment of a slave code for the Territories.

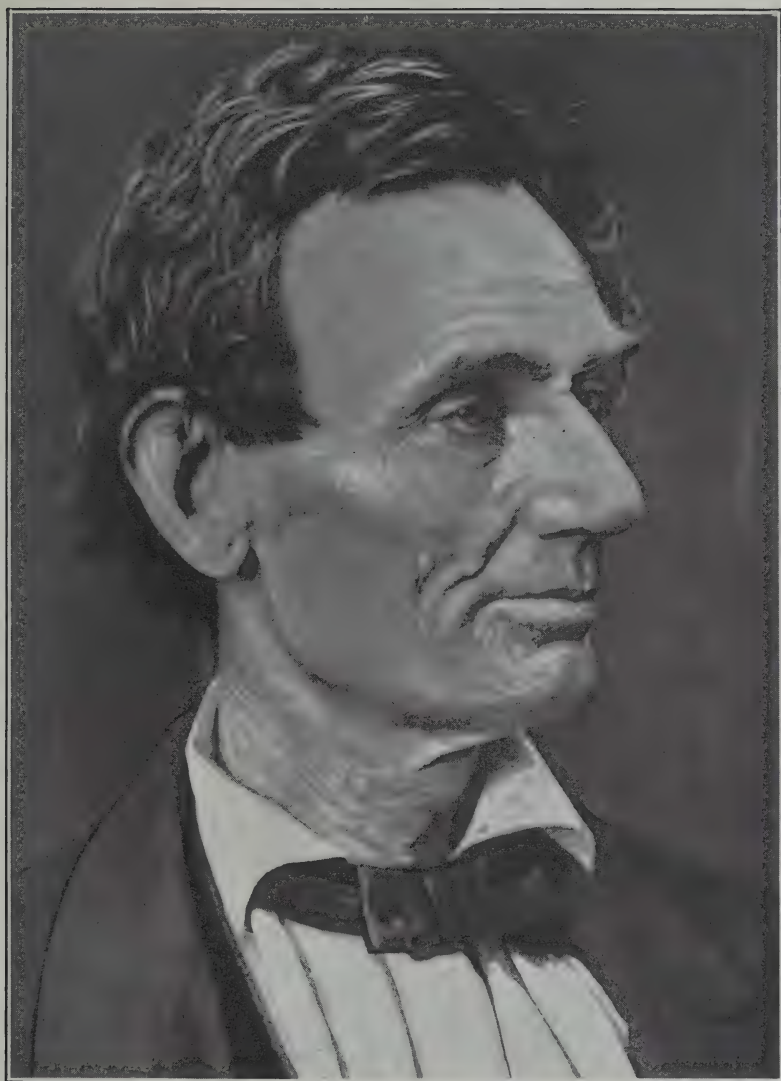
Resolved, That the sum of nearly one hundred millions, supposed to be necessary to support the government under the rule of the Africanized Democracy, is incompatible with just ideas of a simple, economical republican government, and the issue of national shimplasters to meet such demand shows the hopeless financial degeneracy of the present administration.

CHICAGO PLATFORM 1860

5. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions, in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evinced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas; in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons; in its attempted enforcement, everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest; and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

6. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruption at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

⁵Recently, since the present article was put in type, the original Kasson notes of the Chicago Platform were unearthed by an old time friend of Mr. Kasson, Mr. Simon Casady, of Des Moines, in whose hands they were left many years ago. The manuscript copy of the Iowa Platform of 1859 bears numerous changes and interlineations in the chirography of Horace Greeley, and there are attached several short sections scissored from the printed Seward platform which Greeley evidently brought to the Convention. This document complete now rests in the archives of the State Historical Department, at Des Moines.



A. Lincoln

FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN BY ALEX. HESTER AT SPRINGFIELD A FEW DAYS AFTER
THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

Resolved, That we condemn the principle advocated by the Democratic party, no prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and proclaim as our principle, no interference with liberty by the president, by Congress or by the Federal Court.

Resolved, We claim for citizens, native and naturalized, liberty of conscience, equality of rights, and the free exercise of the right of suffrage. We favor whatever legislative and administrative reform that may be necessary to protect these rights, and guard against their infringement or abuse. * * *

Resolved, That we look with horror upon the revival of the slave trade, and view with alarm the apathy and abortive attempts of the administration and judiciary in arresting and bringing to trial and justice those who have recently been guilty of open infractions

7. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries Slavery into any or all of the territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provision of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

8. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom: That, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished Slavery in all our national territory, ordained that 'no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law,' it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

9. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and

of those laws of our country which declare it piracy, and in sending such as have been arrested to places of trial where indictment was doubtful and acquittal certain; and while we oppose by every just means, the repeal of those laws, we will also insist upon their being hereafter faithfully executed and enforced, even though it involve the exercise of the full power of the federal government.

efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

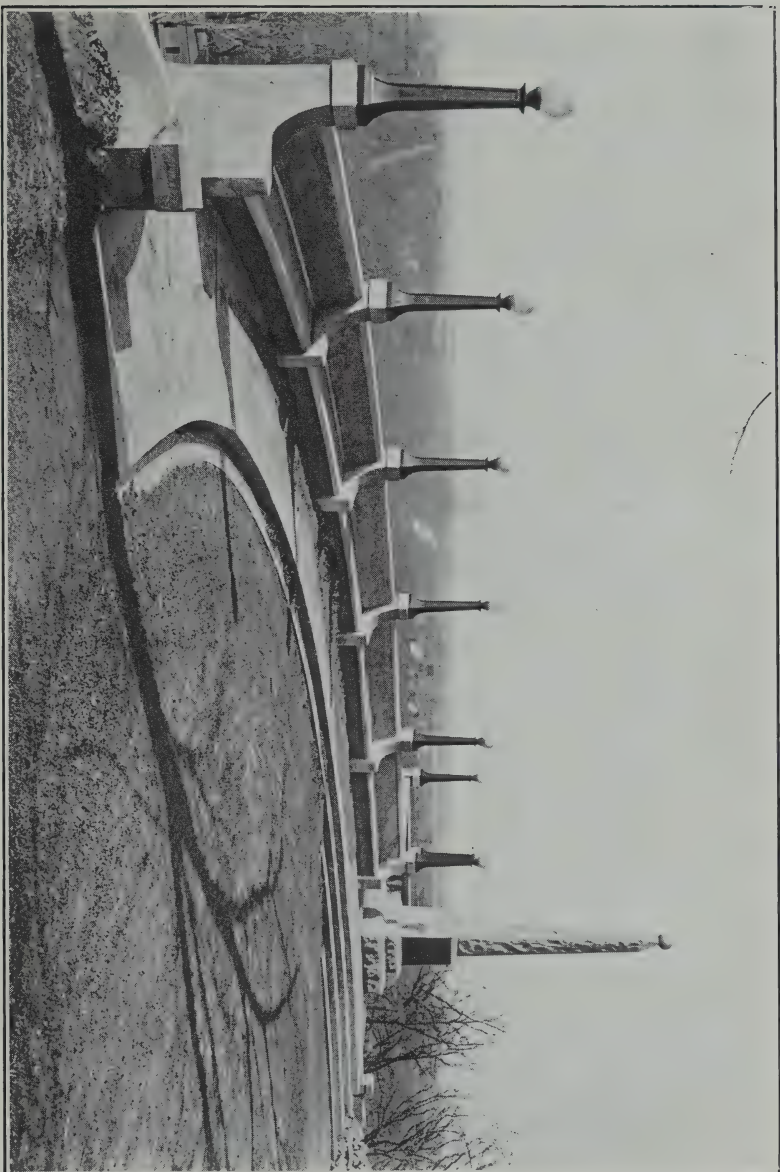
Resolved, That we are in favor of granting to actual settlers suitable portions of the public lands free of charge; and we do most unqualifiedly condemn the course of the Pro-Slavery Democracy in Congress, in opposing and defeating, in the United States Senate, the homestead bill, which was designed to secure free homes for free people, whether of native or of foreign birth.

Resolved, That * * * we oppose any abridgment whatever of the right of naturalization now secured by law to emigrants, and all discrimination between native and naturalized citizens, whether by the amendment of a State constitution or otherwise. And we cordially approve of the action taken by the Republican State Central Committee in regard to the amendment proposed by the Massachusetts Legislature to its constitution.

13. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or suppliants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

14. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any state legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

For several years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War Mr. Kasson was a noted attorney for the Mississippi & Missouri River Railroad, now the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railroad, then building across Iowa. G. M. Dodge, locating engineer of the western part of the road, later constructed the Union Pacific



ABRAHAM LINCOLN MEMORIAL. AT ENTRANCE TO ROHRER PARK, COUNCIL BLUFFS

SPOT WHERE LINCOLN STOOD WHEN OFFICIALLY LOCATING TERMINUS OF UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD

← 1877 base

Railroad to the Great Salt Lake. Norman B. Judd⁵ of Illinois was general counsel for the Rock Island road, a large stockholder, and an officer, as well as Lincoln's manager at the Chicago Convention. Herbert Hoxie of Des Moines, afterwards became the presiding genius over all the vast Gould railroad interests in the Southwest. John I. Blair of New Jersey, then lived in Iowa, and was a principal stockholder in two Iowa railroads. They were all banded together into congenial company, were delegates to Chicago and became strong supporters of Lincoln.

Lincoln, himself, was an attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad, special attorney for the Rock Island road, and was a landholder at the railroad terminus at Council Bluffs.⁶ In August, 1859, Lincoln went over the Rock Island Railroad preserves, and visited Council Bluffs. In after years when it devolved upon him as president of the United States, and in accordance with a special act of Congress, to locate the eastern terminus of the Union Pacific Railroad, he performed this solemn duty by fixing it in Council Bluffs,⁷ almost across the street from his own landholdings, instead of at the natural situation at Omaha, four miles away and on the west side of the Missouri River.

Western railroad men so very effectively hid their maneuvers under the then popular outcry against the introduction of slavery into the new territories that until this day little or no discussion has been made of the fact. The nearest approach to it is the chance allegation of Professor A. B. Hart, of Harvard University, in his "Life of Salmon B. Chase:" "Some of the delegates from Iowa were on the trading tack." This statement while hardly true, emphasized the importance of Iowa's position. The Iowa delegates, with perhaps the exception of one man, were under the command of N. B. Judd, of Illinois. Any "trading

⁵Norman Buel Judd, an intimate personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, placed him in nomination for the presidency in the Chicago Convention of 1860. He was born at Rome, New York, January 10, 1815. In 1836 he removed to Chicago and entered upon the practice of the law. He was a member of the Illinois State Senate continuously from 1844 to 1860. He accompanied Mr. Lincoln from Springfield to Washington for the first inauguration. President Lincoln's very first appointment was Mr. Judd as minister to Prussia where he represented our government for four years. He was elected to the Forty-first Congress in 1870 and served one term. He died November 10, 1878.

⁶"I first met Mr. Lincoln at Council Bluffs in August, 1859. He had come up there by way of St. Joseph and the Missouri River to look after an interest in the Riddle tract he had bought from Mr. Judd."—From an interview with General G. M. Dodge obtained by Prof. F. I. Herriott, and published in the ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 6, p. 452.

⁷ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 6, pp. 452-3.

tack" that may have existed was of a very different kind from that which Hart implied. The midnight conference in the top-most story of the Tremont House was for the purpose of lining up the second choice men for the Illinois candidate. How well Judd engineered this project was amply attested by the successful outcome of his efforts. The rewards were sharply reflected in Lincoln's very first appointments to important government posts. The little group of western railroaders carried its point. It was not probable that it could anticipate driving the country into civil war by its triumph. But in its pursuit of its pet scheme it failed to realize the global consequences of evil.

Although the western railroad clique might obtain all it hoped for from both political parties through the adoption of the Pacific Railroad planks whereby the government would extend material aid, the farsighted Judd, long before convention time saw that in case of success in this particular, Southern opposition would be deterring and would have to be overcome. Democrats at Washington would have to be unhorsed. Approaching conditions lent encouragement. He further realized that this would involve every ounce of strength at the Republican command. As Judge Charles C. Nourse, an original Lincoln supporter from Iowa, reflected fifty years after the occurrence: "It was suicide to take any serious risks. We had to have a candidate that would unite all factions and all sections of the Republicans and attract to us the other discordant elements that were, like we were, opposing the Democracy, and draw to us the thousands of Democrats who were discontented and disgusted with the weakness of Buchanan's administration. The right man, in my judgment, was the man who had worsted Stephen A. Douglas in 1858."⁸ This was the harp-chord which Judd twanged with such consummate skill.

At the same time Judd strummed on the string of opposition to Senator Seward. The latter, besides intimately associating himself with the extreme opponents of slavery, had also courted the support of the old Cotton Whigs—merchants and manufacturers who were anxious to curry favor with the Southerners in order to retain the supremacy of New York for the eastern and ocean-carrying trade for the South, and to continue their monop-

⁸ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 6, p. 457.

oly of supplying the Southern States with manufactured goods.

The wily Judd was active in another direction. On morning of balloting, while the Seward men were marching the streets and making loud demonstrations for their candidate, he quietly packed the Convention Wigwam to capacity with noisy Lincoln supporters. The results of the first ballot were as disconcerting to the New Yorkers as they were pleasing to the Westerners. Contrary to all high expectations Seward received only 173½ votes, while Lincoln mustered 102 votes, or more than twice as many as any remaining candidate. The time for Judd's second choice men was at hand, Lincoln receiving 181 votes, or within three of Seward's number. When, on third ballot, the Illinois candidate forged far ahead, and sufficient states changed their votes to give him the nomination, Judd's task was finished, and his transcontinental railroad dream became an accomplished reality.

Had the promulgator of Squatter Sovereignty been nominated at the Charleston Convention a month before, instead of at Baltimore a month after the Republican Convention it is improbable that Lincoln would have been nominated at Chicago, and even if he had received the nomination, it is not likely that he would have been elected. But the old debate burst out anew and with greater fierceness than ever. Prior to the Chicago convention there were many Republicans who were willing to support Senator Douglas on account of his stand on Squatter Sovereignty. Small concessions at that time would have appeased the Constitutional Union followers.

As the campaign developed Douglas alienated the very considerable Bell faction of his own party without gaining in place of it any of the Lincoln strength. The South early recognized that it could not elect its own candidate, Breckenridge, and the Bell supporters were soon more interested in the defeat of Douglas than that of Lincoln. Split in three ways, the great national Democratic party easily lost—lost to a little group of western railroaders.

Some months after the election of Lincoln, in the darkest days of the Civil War, a Republican Congress granted the charter for the building of a railroad from the Missouri River to the Golden Gate, with an issue of \$100,000,000 of stock, \$50,000,000 of bonds and 20,000,000 acres of land. Lincoln himself located

the eastern terminus on land which the railroad group had previously bought up. Congressmen and public officials delighted in visiting the construction at the company's expense and became greatly interested in the project. Railway was before country. A gift of empire was consummated.

In after years, when the Civil War was over, and when the golden spike was driven at Ogden connecting the oceans by rail, the guiding spirit of the Union Pacific Railroad, released from his duties in the North, attempted to duplicate his accomplishment by pushing on the Texas Pacific Railroad to the western ocean. But those in control of the Union Pacific little relished such competition. Its old clique turned savagely upon the master mind which had made its success possible. John A. Kasson, then in Congress, led the movement there by opposing all further land grants to railroads and thereby defeated the Texas Pacific project, as he himself long afterward asserts.⁹

So, as Sienkiewicz relates of the Roman Nero, the power of the first railroad tyrant passed, as a whirlwind, as a storm, as a fire, as war or death passes; but a great steel roadway survives, serves its proper public function and from its strategic situation controls the communication of a continent and guides the commerce of the world.

⁹ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. XII, No. 5, p. 852.

